

Law and Business Review of the Americas

Volume 8 | Number 4

Article 6

2002

Women and International Economic Law: An Annotated Bibliography

Uche U. Ewelukwa

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholar.smu.edu/lbra>

Recommended Citation

Uche U. Ewelukwa, *Women and International Economic Law: An Annotated Bibliography*, 8 LAW & BUS. REV. AM. 603 (2002)
<https://scholar.smu.edu/lbra/vol8/iss4/6>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Law Journals at SMU Scholar. It has been accepted for inclusion in Law and Business Review of the Americas by an authorized administrator of SMU Scholar. For more information, please visit <http://digitalrepository.smu.edu>.

Women and International Economic Law: An Annotated Bibliography

*Uché U. Ewelukwa**

Table of Contents

- I. Introduction
- II. International Economic Law: Old Wine in New Wine Skin?
- III. Towards Engendering International Economic Law: A Roadmap
 - A. WOMEN AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE
 - B. WOMEN, WORK AND THE GLOBAL ECONOMY
 - C. WOMEN AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS
 - D. GLOBALIZATION, TRANSNATIONAL SPACES, AND GLOBAL FLESH TRADE: TRAFFICKING, SEX-TOURISM, PROSTITUTION, AND MAIL-ORDER BRIDES
 - E. WOMEN, GLOBALIZATION, AND NEW TECHNOLOGIES
 - F. GLOBALIZATION, WOMEN, AND VIOLENCE
 - G. GLOBALIZATION AND WOMEN'S HEALTH
 - H. GLOBALIZATION, CITIZENSHIP, DEMOCRACY, AND IMMIGRATION: FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES
 - I. GLOBALIZATION, WOMEN, AND NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: A THIRD WAY?
- IV. Selected Bibliography
 - A. WOMEN AND MACROECONOMICS: THEORETICAL & CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS
 - B. WOMEN AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE
 - C. WOMEN, WORK, AND THE GLOBAL ECONOMY
 - D. WOMEN AND GLOBAL ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS—THE WORLD BANK, THE IMF, AND THE WTO
 - E. TRANSNATIONAL SPACES AND THE GLOBAL FLESH TRADE: TRAFFICKING, PROSTITUTION, MAIL-ORDER BRIDE, ETC.
 - F. WOMEN AND NEW TECHNOLOGIES
 - G. MARKETS, WOMEN, AND VIOLENCE
 - H. GLOBALIZATION AND WOMEN'S HEALTH
 - I. GLOBALIZATION, CITIZENSHIP, DEMOCRACY, AND IMMIGRATION: FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES
 - J. REGIONAL PERSPECTIVES
 - 1. *Africa*
 - 2. *Asia*
 - 3. *Central Asia, Eastern Europe, the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)*
 - 4. *The European Union (EU)*

* Assistant Professor, University of Arkansas School of Law, Fayetteville, Arkansas.

5. *Latin America, the Caribbean, and NAFTA*
6. *Globalization, Global Feminism, New Social Movements: Towards a Third Way?*
7. *Surveys & Reports*

V. Conclusion: New Horizons, New Visions—Research Agenda for the Twenty-First Century

I. Introduction

This bibliography is an attempt to capture a fast growing, but previously invisible, field in international economic law. It is an attempt to both demarcate an emerging field in international economic law, and to excavate “old” issues from the abyss into which they might have fallen. It references published work on the intersection of gender and international economic law, and the intersection of feminism and global market forces. The overall goal is to stimulate further research and to aid scholars, activists, and policy makers who work on this subject area. My hope is that it will contribute to the growing attempt to reconceptualize international economic law using multiple ideologies and methodologies.¹ By pointing out gaps in current scholarship, this bibliography also aims at encouraging sustained research and serious scholarship directed at engendering macroeconomic laws and policies using a multiplicity of research tools and techniques.

The bibliography covers works that address women’s engagement with international economic law and institutions, and women’s engagement with old and new drivers of economic globalization. Emphasis is on new and emerging issues in international economic law. If this bibliography is to serve its intended purpose of encouraging further research and scholarship on current issues in international economic law as they affect women, some “old” and better-researched subject areas must be left behind.² Unless they form part of a broader analysis, country-specific works have been excluded. This bibliography is by no means exhaustive of the work in this area, and will therefore remain a working bibliography to be updated periodically.³

1. The past decade has witnessed a tremendous outpouring of scholarship in international law that embodies a renewed attempt at reconceptualizing international law, particularly international economic law, using multiple ideologies and methodologies. The International Economic Law Group of the American Society of International Law has, since 1994, sponsored a series of Symposia examining the changing dynamics of international economic law as a field. See generally, Jeffery Atik, *Uncorking International Trade, Filling the Cup of International Economic Law*, 15 AM. U. INT’L L. REV. 1231 (2000); Joel R. Paul, *The New Movements in International Economic Law* 10 AM. U. J. INT’L L. & POL’Y 607 (1995); Symposium, *Interdisciplinary Approaches to International Economic Law* 10 AM. U. J. INT’L L. & POL’Y 595, 595–887 (1995).
2. Publications on such themes as “Women and Development” are for the most part excluded. Compared to the scholarship on women and development, feminist analysis of trade and investment policies is still in its infancy and will be the primary focus here.
3. There are several reasons for this. For one thing, the correlation between global economic policies and women’s wellbeing is only now becoming the focus of intense research and scholarship. Moreover, the absence of gender disaggregated data in the review of most international economic policies continues to hamper serious scholarship. As a result, the full impact

Globalization is both a recent phenomenon and a historical process whose origins go far into the past.⁴ To examine women's varied interactions with global market forces is, therefore, to confront a serious dating problem: "When did the global epoch begin?"⁵ Moreover, though much talked about, globalization remains a poorly understood phenomenon.⁶ The result, Bruce Mazlish rightly notes, is that "[with] little real research as basis, there has nevertheless been a rush to normative evaluation."⁷ Yet, it is now generally accepted that globalization is changing both the fundamental principles of the nation-state, and the structure of international law and institutions. Given the fundamental transformations unleashed by the forces of globalization within nation-states and in the global arena, developing a feminist analytic of the global economy is a project demanding urgent attention.⁸

Women's interaction with the international economic order is not new. For Third World women particularly, interaction with international economic actors in the form of transatlantic slave traders, oversea trading companies or colonial officers on their Majesty's "civilizing" mission dates back, at least, to the sixteenth century. In the twentieth century, the activities of new drivers of globalization such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Trade Organization (WTO), and transnational corporations have meant an expanded network through which women in different corners of the globe are drawn into the global economy. The decade of the nineties was particularly significant given the unprecedented integration of national economies and the ascendance of the World Trade Organization. The decade also witnessed a new resolve by women to engender the international economic order. Increasingly, women are challenging the dominant economic orthodoxy driving the global economy. Essentially, feminist scholars and women's rights activists challenge the notion that international economic laws and policies are gender neutral. Overall, while neither the process of globalization nor women's interaction with the global economy is anything new, what is new is a renewed resolve by marginalized groups to have their voices heard on matters that intimately affect them. What is also new are fresh attempts by the world's women to probe the normative defenses of globalization as embodied in the liberal

of macroeconomic policies on women's lives remains to fully measured or understood. See Barbara Starke, *Women and Globalization: The Failure and Postmodern Possibilities of International Law*, 33 VAND. J. TRANSNAT'L L. 503 at 525 (2000) (noting that "[d]ata assessing the impact of globalization on women remains largely unavailable.")

4. Bruce Mazlish, *A Tour of Globalization*, 7 IND. J. GLOBAL LEGAL STUD. 5 (1999). Most scholars seem to agree that while globalization is not new, several factors distinguish the present form of globalization from that of the past such that it can be concluded that the world is entering into a new era: the era of globalization or "a global epoch."
 5. *Id.*
 6. As Mazlish rightly notes: "too many people pass judgement on the process of globalization without having much understanding of it." *Id.* at 6.
 7. *Id.* at 6.
 8. Saskia Sassen, *Towards a Feminist Analytics of the Global Economy*, 4 IND. J. GLOBAL LEGAL STUD. 7 (1996).
-

narrative.⁹ The question that is increasingly asked is: "[w]ho gains from the global order?"¹⁰

II. International Economic Law: Old Wine in New Wine Skin?

"Lawyers," Oscar Schachter once noted, "are accustomed to pouring new wine into old bottles."¹¹ So it might be with the term "International Economic Law," a fast-emerging successor to the field of "International Business Law" or "international trade."¹² Gradually, international economic law has emerged as an important field in international law superceding international business law and international trade law in importance, at least in the perception of its adherents.¹³ The rise of international economic law, Kenneth Abbott notes, is "less a result of external changes in rules and institutions than of internal changes in perception, especially about scholarship."¹⁴ Undoubtedly, the norms and institutions that affect international economic law have undergone significant changes over the years.¹⁵ However, the changes have been largely of institutional evolution rather than fundamental changes in the rules of the game.¹⁶ For example, while the Uruguay Round has produced a number of new agreements, these essentially are not radically different from what was, but "rest solidly on traditional foundations."¹⁷ The emergence

9. According to neo-liberal economic theory, economic globalization will reduce inter-state and intra-state inequality, raise the standard of living for all, reduce wars, and bring with it ideological convergence. See generally, Tim Dunne, *The Spectre of Globalization*, 7 IND. J. GLOBAL LEGAL STUD. 17 (1999); THOMAS FRIEDMAN, *THE LEXUS AND THE OLIVE TREE* (2000).

10. Dunne, *supra* note 9, at 19.

11. OSCAR SCHACHTER, *INTERNATIONAL LAW IN THEORY AND PRACTICE* 6 (1991).

12. See generally Kenneth W. Abbott, "International Economic Law": Implications for Scholarship, 17 U. OF PA. J. INT'L. ECON. L. 505 (1996). Commenting on the new and fashionable trend towards "international economic Law" rather than "international business law," Abbott notes that while the rules and institutions that affect international economic activity have undergone significant changes in recent years, "a new appellation is not needed because of any fundamental transformation in the law itself."

13. See generally Joel Trachtman, *The International Economic Law Revolution*, 17 U. PA. J. INT'L ECON. L. 33 (1996). Notably, the University of Pennsylvania Journal of International Business Law recently changed its name to Journal of International Economic Law. See also Jeffery Atik, *supra* note 1 at 1235 (noting that, "[T]he most ardent champions of international economic law see it as a central discipline, where the positivist tools of legal realism are applied to what has been an arid, doctrine-encrusted branch of legal science. International economic law, in this view, claims the entire field of international law as its object of study.")

14. Abbott argues that, "[t]he definition and boundaries of scholarly disciplines like international economic law, international business law, or international law as a whole are not material facts, out in the world to be discovered." Rather, "[d]isciplines are constructed in the minds of those who work within them, and they change as mental boundaries are redrawn." The increasing use of the term international economic law simply "reflects a new set of intellectual boundaries among interested scholars." Abbott, *supra* note 12, at 506.

15. *Id.*

16. *Id.*

17. *Id.*

of international economic law as a new field demonstrates the increasing importance of this area of international law and is an attempt by a growing number of scholars to reassert its importance, Abbott argues.¹⁸ For women, whose issues are traditionally treated as social welfare issues rather than economic issues; the need to inject a gender dimension to this field is of fundamental importance.

What is the scope of international economic law and how does it differ from the field of international business law or international trade? To start with, "economic" is a much broader term than "business" or "trade," and encompasses subjects traditionally outside the purview of business law. International economic law, thus, encompasses national and private law that affect international business transactions, international rules, and institutions that shape economic relations among nations, international, and transnational rules and institutions that shape international monetary affairs and development assistance.¹⁹ Two components of the field—international and economic—deserve a closer attention. With respect to the term "international," Abbot cautions against the "considerable temptation to focus unduly on the prominent interstate arrangements" to the disregard of vital domestic arrangements.²⁰

The study of international economic relations, thus involves at least five levels of law. At the highest level is supranational law;²¹ next is the traditional international law, including treaties and decisions of international institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (the World Bank), the WTO, and the International Court of Justice;²² next is transnational law reflecting increasing cooperation among national government agencies at the sub-state level.²³ This is followed by a broad range of national laws of importance to international

18. *Id.*

19. Abbott sees the new boundaries of international economic law as representing some vertical and horizontal integration in scholarship on hitherto separated subject areas. The most significant change, he would argue, involves vertical integration: "international economic law brings together the kinds of rules and institutions (predominantly national or even private) that directly affect international business transactions with those (predominantly international or transnational) that shape the economic relationships among nations and other public actors." *Id.* at 506–07.

20. *Id.* at 507.

21. The European Union is arguably the only real example of a supranational order. See generally J.D. DINNAGE & J.F. MURPHY, *THE CONSTITUTIONAL LAW OF THE EUROPEAN UNION* (1996); EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES, *SERVING THE EUROPEAN UNION: A CITIZEN'S GUIDE TO THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION* (1996); D. LASOK & J.W. BRIDGE, *LAW AND INSTITUTIONS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION* (6th ed. 1994).

22. See Articles of Agreement of the International Monetary Fund (as amended), July 22, 1945, 2 U.N.T.S. 39; General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (as amended), Oct. 30, 1947, 55 U.N.T.S. 187; Convention on the Settlement of Investment Dispute between States and Nationals of Other States, Mar. 18, 1965, 575 U.N.T.S. 159; G.A. Res. 3201, U.N. GAOR, 6th Spec. Sess., Supp. No. 1, at 3, U.N. Doc. A/9556 (1974), reprinted in 13 I.L.M. 715 (1974).

23. Prime examples would be the growing cooperation and information-sharing arrangements among national regulators of banking, antitrust, and investment.

economic activity.²⁴ At the lowest level are a growing number of privately generated rules emanating from private actors, such as those providing arbitration services.²⁵

What about the term "economic"? In both the vertical and the horizontal dimensions, the term economic is broader than the term business, Abbot notes. There are several reasons for this. The definition of economic law and policy is constantly expanding, and the "[t]he boundaries between policies, regimes and rules considered to be 'economic' and those considered part of other intellectual categories are shifting and becoming more porous."²⁶ What this means is that "many of the most interesting issues in international 'economic' law today could as easily be described as issues of environmental law, human rights or feminism."²⁷ In comparing international trade to international economic law, Atik notes:

"Here we find international trade law and much more. International economic law includes monetary law, competition/antitrust law, intellectual property and law and development. It embraces (or should embrace) alternative perspectives, such as Third World and feminist critique, and interdisciplinary approaches, and concerns itself (or should concern itself) with the distribution of wealth and justice and with the preservation of culture, the environment and peace."²⁸

The implications for women of this expanded definition of economic law and policy are enormous. At the very least, it permits a tearing of the veil to allow a sustained scrutiny of once sacrosanct policy domains. Moreover, it invites the integration of presumably "non-economic" issues into trade policy and investment debates—issues important to women and traditionally ignored. These issues were traditionally separated from broader macroeconomic policy debates, sterilized, and treated under benign labels such

24. This would encompass "everything from the constitutional law of international agreements through the bases of personal jurisdiction to the details of antidumping regulation and foreign tax credits." *Id.* In the United States this would include: Harter Act of 1893, 46 App. U.S.C. §190–196 (2000); Carriage of Goods by Sea Act of 1936, 46 App. U.S.C. §1300–1315 (2000); Bill of Lading Act, 49 U.S.C. §80101–80116 (2000); Foreign Corrupt Practices Act of 1977 Pub. L. No. 95-213, 15 U.S.C. (codified as amended in scattered sections of 15 U.S.C.); U.S. Dept. of Just. and Federal Trade Comm., *Antitrust Enforcement Guidelines for International Operations* (1995).

25. It might have once been hard to imagine private actors heavily influencing the international economic regime, yet this is increasingly so. "The law-like quality of this private activity," Abbott notes, "is greatest in the field of arbitration and in international commercial transactions, where trade association contracts and rules and codifications of practice like Incoterms and the Uniform Customs and Practice for Documentary Credits of the International Chamber of Commerce order economic behavior worldwide." Abbott, *supra* note 12, at 508.

26. *Id.*

27. *Id.* at 510.

28. See, Atik, *supra* note 1, at 1231. He notes that international trade, by contrast, "designates a specialization within the profession," suffering from "an absence of meaningful dialogue from within and without international trade law. [I]nternational trade is sealed within its vessels; the bottle may be transparent (one can see it from without), but is confined all the same." *Id.* at 1231–32.

as child and maternal welfare, rural development or third world development.²⁹ Extending the breath of what is conceived as international, beyond the traditional multilateral arrangements is also important to women because interactions between women and the global economy are often mediated through a host of non-state actors outside the purview of classical international law. Overall, the benign and often sanitized language frequently encountered in international trade and business instruments is deceptive and has traditionally precluded a sustained scrutiny of embedded gender biases.³⁰

International economic law is particularly well suited to interdisciplinary scholarship.³¹ A "big tent, embracing multiple subdisciplines, methodologies and approaches," international economic law welcomes feminist methodologies and approaches and permits perspectives form the social sciences such as history, sociology, and anthropology. Consequently, the literatures referenced in this bibliography transverse various fields. Scholarships from fields as diverse as sociology, cultural studies, anthropology, political science, critical theory, and post-modernism have been included. Bearing in mind Abbott's caution that "the boundaries of 'international economic law' can become constraining, rather than liberating, unless care is taken to interpret them broadly,"³² this bibliography carries with it the caveat that it does not attempt to demarcate in any clear intelligible fashion the scope or boundaries of the field. The scope covered is, rather, largely influenced by the current literature on women, feminism, and the global economy.

III. Towards Engendering International Economic Law: A Roadmap

How could trade liberalization disproportionately impact women? How is it possible that, arguably, gender-neutral macroeconomic fiscal and monetary policies such

29. Abbott sites three recent developments to buttress his point. "The first is the escalating demand for harmonization of national regulatory programs in pursuit of a 'level playing field' for trade and investment." The second "is the rise of the concept of sustainable development" which essentially "links environmental and economic concerns. The core of the concept is the idea that economic growth and environmental protection are neither discrete nor inherently contradictory goals. Instead, they are structurally interrelated, and even may be mutually supportive." A noticeable trend today as a result is a new willingness to incorporate in "economic" instruments such as the Bogor Declaration on the Asia-Pacific economic community or the Miami Declaration on the Free Trade Area of the Americas the concept of sustainable development. "A third development is the linking of economic and social policy." This is reflected in the growing call for social clauses in trade agreements. Abbott, *supra* note 12, at 508-09.

30. Christine Chinkin, *A Gendered Perspective to the International Use of Force*, 12 *AUSTL. Y.B. INT'L L.* 279 (1992).

31. See generally John H. Jackson, *Interdisciplinary Approaches to International Economic Law: International Economic Law: Reflections on the "Boiler room" of International Relations*, 10 *AM. U. J. INT'L L. & POL'Y* 595, 595-887 (1995) (discussing the proceedings of the first international economic law conference sponsored by the International Economic Law Group of the American Society of International Law and held in Washington in February of 1994).

32. *Id.*

32. Abbott, *supra* note 12, at 507.

as structural adjustment, de-regulation, and privatization affect women differently?³³ Is it possible that foreign assistance is traditionally structured in ways that marginalize women? Is the Network for Women and Development Europe (WIDE) right in its conclusion that "trade, investment and competition policies, like macroeconomic fiscal and monetary policies are not gender neutral" but are "formulated by men and have strong male biases"?³⁴ How could the drive to privatize key social sectors have a different impact on women and girls? Is globalization a phenomenon whose effect has been largely exaggerated by women's groups or is it *the* threat of the twenty-first century?³⁵ And, is there any consensus on the conceptual basis and agenda for a feminist macroeconomic policy in the twenty-first century?

A. WOMEN AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE

The 90s was a decade of intense proliferation of multilateral trade agreements that paved the way for further integration of regional and global economies.³⁶ How and in what ways does trade liberalization alter the world's social and economic norms? What is the impact of trade liberalization on women in the informal sector or agriculture, for example? What is the relationship between women and the WTO? Is a gender-fair ethical code of conduct in world trade feasible?³⁷

Despite the reported negative impact of trade liberalization on women's lives, gender analysis of trade is almost nonexistent.³⁸ Looking at vocabulary, women argue that the whole discourse of international trade is framed in masculine terms.³⁹ The main negotiators and drafters of trade agreements are overwhelmingly men. At a normative

33. "How could reducing or eliminating tariffs and quotas or eliminating restrictions on foreign investment have a different impact on women? How could opening up the domestic economy to foreign banks and foreign insurance companies affect women differently than men? Are these not simply gender neutral processes which affect everyone the same," the Network Women in Development Europe has asked. Network Women in Development Europe, *Conceptual and Policy Link Between Gender and Trade*, available at www.eurosur.org/wide/structure/Publ.htm (last visited Nov. 4, 2002) [hereinafter WIDE].

34. *Id.*

35. Marian McMahon Stanley, founder of Stanley Global Resource, however, calls globalization an "imperfect storm" implying that much of the hype about developing markets may have been exaggerated. Marian McMahon Stanley, *Globalization: An Imperfect Storm*, USA TODAY, May 27, 1990, available at <http://www.usatoday.com/2000/global/globe002.htm>.

36. See generally *General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade* 1994, Apr. 15, 1994, 33 I.L.M. 1154 (1994); *Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights*, Apr. 15, 1994, 33 I.L.M. 1197.

37. WIDE, *supra* note 33, at 2.

38. At a recent conference on "Women and Alternative Economics" organized by WIDE, participants were almost unanimous in their conclusion that "the biggest, and least addressed, problems for women everywhere in the world today are in the arena of trade." "Trade" they concluded, "is a missing link in the development and economy debate that needs a closer analysis by feminists." See WIDE, *supra* note 33; European Union Development and Trade Policy and Its Role in International Institutions, available at www.eurosur.org/wide/b001_07.htm.

39. WIDE argues that at the level of vocabulary, international trade is framed in masculine terms as reflected in the vocabulary of war, conquering, penetrating, and killing. See WIDE, *supra* note 33.

level, people-centered considerations have, traditionally, been excluded from the theory and conduct of world trade and from trade documents that ultimately emerge. At the center of the globalization debate, therefore, is the impact of neo-liberal economic prescriptions—open market, exports production strategies, tariffs, and quota elimination—on vulnerable groups. Consequently, a growing body of scholarship engages in a gender analysis of regional and global trade regimes such as NAFTA and the WTO.

One particularly important aspect of the inquiry is the impact of trade liberalization in agriculture on Third World women in their role as caregivers, consumers, and agricultural workers. In the Philippines, declining income from basic food production and small farms is reported. Several factors account for this including the influx of cheaper foreign products, the conversion of agricultural lands for “development” projects, and speculative land pricing.⁴⁰ Because a significant proportion of Third World women are subsistent farmers, they are impacted by reductions in price of local goods which are caused by trade liberalization in agricultural products.

By exposing the women’s condition in a marketized world, scholars attempt to resist the false narratives of global progress as a result of free trade. Overall, despite the assurances that the bark in the new trade agreements may be worse than their bite, the world’s women remain very concerned.⁴¹

B. WOMEN, WORK AND THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

Globalization, *The International Business* reports, is increasing women’s employment opportunities worldwide.⁴² Statistics tell a different story, however. According to surveys by Windham International and the Employee Relocation Council, women filled only ten to fifteen percent of overseas assignments with U.S. multinational firms in 1998.⁴³ Marian Stanley, founder of Global Resource Institute, acknowledges that the disadvantages of being a woman in an international assignment are real in her opinion.⁴⁴ While economic liberalization may have expanded the economic opportunities of women in many countries, several questions still persist: What forms of economic opportunities are open to women in the global economy? How have women fared under conditions of intense industrial restructuring characterized by informalization of employment and flexibilization of labor? In China, for example, while women have benefited from expanded economic growth, they also make up the majority of those laid off from their jobs (as much as 80 percent in some sectors) and the majority of the unemployed.⁴⁵ The same is true in Brazil according to women’s groups reports.⁴⁶

40. Women’s Environment and Development Organization, *MAPPING PROGRESS* (1998) available at www.wedo.org/publicat/publicat.htm (last visited Nov. 4, 2002) [hereinafter WEDO].

41. Amsden H. Alice & Hikino Takashi, *The Bark is Worse than the Bite: New WTO Law and Late Industrialization*, 570 ANNALS AM. ACAD. POL. & SOC. SCI. 104 (2000).

42. The argument is that “owing to the shortage of skilled international managers, multinational corporations are eschewing the myths of the past and recruiting more and more women for top jobs in foreign countries.” See *Women’s Global Career Ladder*, 7 INT’L BUS. 57 (1994).

43. Marian McMahon Stanley, *Tips for Women Working Overseas*, USA TODAY, May 27, 1999, available at <http://www.usatoday.com/2000/global/globe001.htm>.

44. *Id.*

45. WEDO, *supra* note 40, at 52.

46. *Id.* at 38. Since 1996, more than one million people have joined the ranks of the unemployed in Brazil. Of this figure, women constitute two-thirds.

There is clearly an urgent need to probe the assertion that economic globalization will expand the employment opportunities of women. The relationship between multinational corporations and the exploitation of female labor in developing countries also demands closer attention.

C. WOMEN AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS

Have existing international economic institutions—the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (the World Bank)—outlived their usefulness? Has anything that is important for women really changed in the organization and policy of these institutions? How and in what ways do the activities of these institutions impact the lives of women? Globalization means that the economies of an increasing number of countries are driven by external multi-lateral institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Through avenues such as Structural Adjustment Programs, these institutions impose highly contested neo-liberal economic policies on already weak states. The hasty externally driven initiatives have often proved very costly for vulnerable groups. Structural adjustment programs emphasize export-led growth and privatization without due regards to local needs and circumstances. Structural adjustment has usually involved reduction in public investment and expenditure, slashing of subsidies on basic food stuff and agricultural resource (fertilizers), reduction of budgetary provision for social spending and development, and is usually accompanied by the 4 “Ds”—deregulation, deflation, devaluation, and denationalization.⁴⁷

The privatization of state-owned cashew-processing industry in Mozambique is a prime example of the impact that hasty, externally driven structural adjustment initiatives have on women and whole populations. Under the prescriptions of the World Bank, when the cashew factories were privatized, raw cashew nuts rather than processed nuts were exported, and the twenty percent tax imposed on exports was removed. The result was catastrophic. The cashew industry collapsed resulting in job loss for about 7,000 of the 9,000 cashew industry workers, the majority of who were women. A 1997 IMF-World Bank study admitted that the peasants gained nothing from liberalized export.⁴⁸

Cost recovery policies, overnight introduction of school fees, and cut backs on spending for education also appear to have a detrimental effect on young girls. A common report is that in most countries female enrollment in schools are falling, and thus a widening gap between the educational levels of girls and boys is emerging.⁴⁹ In Bulgaria, where privatization involves as much as forty percent of state-owned property, women's groups are concerned that women will not benefit from the process.⁵⁰

47. *Id.* at 90.

48. WEDO, *supra* note 40, at 119.

49. In Costa Rica, adolescent girls constitute a high number of drop-out of schools. The same is true for China where in light of traditional attitude towards women and girls, families are less able to find funds to educate their daughters as fees for education increase. *Id.* at 52.

50. *Id.* at 42. Under the IMF and World Bank adjustment program, Bulgaria has witnessed mass layoffs (on average 25 percent) and imposed part-time work that affects mainly women. The same is true for South Africa, where the IMF's macroeconomic policy prescription is embodied in a new program GEAR (Growth, Employment, and Redistribution), which calls

D. GLOBALIZATION, TRANSNATIONAL SPACES, AND GLOBAL FLESH TRADE: TRAFFICKING, SEX-TOURISM, PROSTITUTION, AND MAIL-ORDER BRIDES

Globalization is birthing new "dark" enclaves—unregulated transnational spaces where money is exchanged for sex in increasingly complex transactions. Modern breakthroughs in information technology are bringing about a transformation and sophistication of the global flesh trade. Despite the proliferation of regional and international instruments, some dating back to the early twentieth century, purporting to address the problem of trafficking and prostitution, the problem has persisted not only in the third world, but also in transition economies.⁵¹ In Belize, a combination of foreign military presence, growth of the tourist industry, dire economic conditions, and high unemployment has led to increased prostitution.⁵² Moscow now harbors an estimated 20,000 to 30,000 prostitutes, while as many as 50,000 women leave Russia each year to work as prostitutes abroad.⁵³

What macroeconomic forces shape the decision of women who choose sex over other income options? How does sex work inform our knowledge of how the structures of the international economic system transform women's lives in poor countries and how these women confront and ultimately embrace the present global economic crisis? Are the new sex workers victims of the global economic restructuring or a new breed of savvy entrepreneurs attempting to take advantage of the global linkages that exploit them? Is the global sexual landscape altogether exploitative or does it offer more than sex and money to participants? What is the role fantasy, opportunity myths, and global media (CNN Effect) in the equation?

E. WOMEN, GLOBALIZATION, AND NEW TECHNOLOGIES

On the one hand, new technologies can be used and are being used by women and women's organizations worldwide to forge new empowering alliances.⁵⁴ On the other

for extensive trade liberalization, privatization, reduction of minimum wage, reduction of social spending and public service, and relaxation of export controls. Not surprisingly, the strongest opposition to GEAR has come from women's groups in the country. Liberalization is reported to be having a severe impact on women, particularly, in key industries such as clothing, textile, and leather that has been opened to foreign competition. *Id.* at 162.

51. Laurie Hauber, Note: *The Trafficking of Women for Prostitution: A Growing Problem Within the European Union*, 21 B.C. INT'L & COMP. L. REV. 183 (1988).

52. WEDO, *supra* note 40, at 33.

53. *Id.* at 151.

54. The increasing use of online dialogues and net conferences by women and women's rights groups suggest that, in many respects, women are benefiting from the unprecedented advancement in new information and communication technologies made by leading global technology corporations. Popular on-line dialogues include the Women Watch; the UN Internet Gateway on the Advancement and Empowerment of Women (www.un.org/womenwatch.forum/index.html); CEDAW-in-action, an internet working group focusing on the work of CEDAW (www.sdn.un.org/www/lists/cedaw.htm); and Women-Action, a global information and communication network established to enable NGOs to actively engage in the Beijing + 5 review process (www.womenaction.org).

hand, questions about access and control suggest that new technologies may carry with them new forms of marginalization and exclusion.⁵⁵ The need for additional research in this area is evident.

Do new technologies empower women or threaten women's security and survival? How should gender awareness be integrated into technology transfer and how? Does technology empower or disempower women? To what extent are the technology needs of women reflected in the current global technology processes? What is the current and potential impact of the explosion of information and communication technologies in the developing countries? To what extent do questions of access reveal new patterns of marginalization of women within the new global informational space?

F. GLOBALIZATION, WOMEN, AND VIOLENCE

In Mexico, violence, especially in the most populated cities, is increasingly associated with poverty and the effects of the 1994 economic crisis.⁵⁶ In Ciudad Juarez on the northern border, one woman is killed every month on average. Over the past three years, some 100 women have been killed.⁵⁷ In the countries in transition in Eastern Europe, increasing violence against women has also been reported.

Several questions are clearly raised regarding the relationship between globalization and women's safety and well-being in the private and public sphere: What is the relationship among globalization, economic development, and increasing violence against women? Does marketization exacerbate women's poverty and powerlessness, thereby making them far more vulnerable to violence, sexual harassment in the home as well as in the workplace, trafficking, forced prostitution and other forms of abuse? Does the new consumerist culture associated with globalization create conditions under which an increasing number of women experience violence? Does globalization, by producing a new, vulnerable labor force, indirectly encourage violence against women?

More research and empirical study is needed to understand the relationship between globalization and violence against women.⁵⁸

G. GLOBALIZATION AND WOMEN'S HEALTH

The relationship between economic globalization and women's health is another area demanding further studies. Questions are increasingly raised about the impact of

55. Olga Lipoviskaya, *Globalization—A Remedy or a Quest? The Russian Experience*, 10 INT'L FEMINIST J., No. 1-2, 26-27 (1999) available at http://www.lolapress.org/artenglish/lipe10_5.htm.

56. WEDO, *supra* note 40, at 114.

57. *Id.*

58. Ann Jordan, for example, has argued that "new forms of violence against women are caused by maldevelopment of mainstream projects and schemes." Drawing from the experiences of Chinese women during the period of economic reform since 1979, she presents a compelling argument on the linkage between development and violence against women. Ann D. Jordan, *Human Rights, Violence Against Women, and Economic Development (The People's Republic of China Experience)*, 5 COLUM. J. GENDER & L. 216 (1996).

structural adjustment, health sector reform,⁵⁹ privatization,⁶⁰ and trade liberalization on women's health.⁶¹ How do macroeconomic policies impact women's health? This is an underdeveloped area of scholarship that is increasingly being researched. In Malaysia it is reported that women migrants in the electronic sector have suffered numerous health problems, such as miscarriages, cervical cancer, eye problems, and bladder infections; while women who work spraying pesticides in plantations suffer from skin and reproductive health problems.⁶² The crushing debt burden of countries in Africa, Latin America, and parts of South Asia has significantly impacted women's physical well-being as scarce resources are increasingly diverted from family planning and reproductive health programs.

H. GLOBALIZATION, CITIZENSHIP, DEMOCRACY, AND IMMIGRATION: FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES

Where do the locus of civil rights and obligations reside in the global economy? What new rights are acquired and what old rights and claims are lost? Patricia Fernandez Kelly argues that "gender, ethnicity, and migration are common factors that constrain the realization of citizenship, and its attendant rights and responsibilities" in the global economy.⁶³ This raises interesting and often ignored questions about the meaning of nationality today, and calls for a reconceptualization of citizenship in ways that reflect present economic realities. Saskia Sassen, rightly asks can scholars "re-read and reconceptualize major features of today's global economy in a manner that captures strategic instantiations of gendering, and formal and operational openings that make women visible and can lead to greater presence in representation and participation[?]."⁶⁴

What about the female migrant? Women are increasingly migrating from countries marked by poverty to countries that appear to offer employment opportunities. In East Asia, a migratory trend from countries such as the Philippines and Thailand to countries

59. Health sector reform is now an integral aspect of structural adjustment policies that stress market principles in the social sector. The overall goal ostensibly is to minimize the bureaucracy and inefficiency of overly centralized systems and make health spending cost-effective by reorganizing services and resources. The means employed include: decentralizing management and budget to make the health sector more accountable; introducing cost-recovery mechanisms such as user fees and insurance; encouraging greater private and other non-governmental sector participation in health delivery; and modernizing administration through financial and management information systems.

60. In both rich and poor nations, privatization of basic public services and competitive market mechanisms is becoming the norm.

61. WEDO, RISKS, RIGHTS AND REFORMS: KEY FINDINGS (1999), available at <http://www.wedo.org/monitor/riskfindings.htm>. More than five years after the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in Cairo in 1994, the Programme of Action adopted by some 179 nations is far from being accomplished. Among the factors that imperil the realization of the Cairo agreement are shortfalls in economic resources needed to realize the Cairo goals and the increasing negative impact of economic globalization on women's health.

62. WEDO, *supra* note 40, at 109.

63. Patricia Fernandez Kelly, Lecture at Johns Hopkins University (Feb. 7, 1995).

64. Saskia Sassen, *Towards a Feminist Analysis of the Global Economy*, 4 IND. J. GLOBAL LEGAL STUD. 7, 7-8 (1996).

such as Malaysia, Japan, and Hong Kong is reported. Annually, hundreds of Latin American illegally women migrate to the United States. In the new host countries, migrant women are overwhelmingly concentrated in the industrial sector (such as the export processing zones and the electronics sector), the service sector (hotels, restaurants, and domiciles), and in the entertainment industry. Several questions inevitably arise. What macroeconomic policies account for this migratory trend? Does the process of globalization and migration result in net gain for women or their further exploitation? What new status do women acquire in their host country? Does globalization-induced migration lead to a net loss of citizenship and participation rights for women?

I. GLOBALIZATION, WOMEN, AND NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: A THIRD WAY?

Globalization is also breaking down the traditional divide between civil society in the first and third worlds. Call it transnational social networks or global civil society revolution, the truth is that communication technology is providing linkages between hitherto isolated groups in different countries and regions. What is more, globalization is much more forcefully linking the economic dilemma of women in the developed countries with those of women in developing countries in ways that render localized struggles for economic emancipation meaningless. The need thus arises for women to seek solutions that transcend national boundaries. It is now increasingly argued that laws responding to the gender wage gap can only succeed if they go beyond addressing domestic problems to address global issues. As globalization transforms the meaning of domesticity, women are challenged to unite in their effort to engender the international economic regime.

The question is now asked, is there an alternative to globalization—a third way, perhaps? Do the world's women advance any feasible alternative to market liberalization associated with globalization? How do they respond to Thomas Friedman's assertion that there is currently no coherent, alternative ideology to liberal, free-market capitalism, nor is one likely to emerge?⁶⁵ Some internal housekeeping matters persist also: Is a global alliance between the world's women really possible? Can the world's women unite on the basis of true partnership and equality against the forces of globalization?

IV. Selected Bibliography

A. WOMEN AND MACROECONOMICS: THEORETICAL & CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS

Afshar Haleh, *Women and the State: Some Considerations of Ideological and Economic Frameworks in Engendering Policies*, in *THE STRATEGIC SILENCE: GENDER AND ECONOMIC POLICY* 152–57 (Isabella Bakker ed., 1994).

65. Thomas Friedman doubts that there will be a coherent and universal reaction to globalization. He argues that it is doubtful that "we will see a new coherent, universal ideological reaction to globalization—because I don't believe that there is an ideology or program that can remove all of the brutality and destructiveness of capitalism and still produce steadily rising standards of living." THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN, *THE LEXUS AND THE OLIVE TREE* 334 (2000).

- Alfred Aman, Jr., *Introduction: Feminism and Globalization: The Impact of the Global Economy on Women and Feminist Theory*, 4 IND. J. GLOBAL LEGAL STUD. 1 (1996).
- Fran Ansley, *Inclusive Boundaries and Other (Im)possible Paths Towards Community Development in a Global World*, 150 U. OF PA. L. REV. 353 (2001).
- Fran Ansley, *Law in Globalizing Labor Markets*, 1 U. PA. J. LAB. & EMP. L. 368 (1998).
- THE STRATEGIC SILENCE: GENDER AND ECONOMIC POLICY (Isabella Bakker ed., 1994).
- Isabella Bakker, *Introduction: Engendering Macro-economic Policy Reform in the Era of Global Restructuring and Adjustment*, in THE STRATEGIC SILENCE: GENDER AND ECONOMIC POLICY 1-30 (Isabella Bakker ed., 1994).
- Janine Broadie, *Shifting the Boundaries: Gender and the Politics of Restructuring*, in THE STRATEGIC SILENCE: GENDER AND ECONOMIC POLICY (Isabella Bakker ed., 1994).
- Charlotte Bunch, *Through Women's Eyes: Global Forces Facing Women in the 21st Century*, speech at the NGO Forum (Aug. 31, 1995), available at <http://www.feminist.com/resources/atrspeech/inter/center.htm>.
- Hilary Charlesworth, *Feminist Methods in International Law*, 93 AM. J. INT'L L. 379 (1999).
- Hilary Charlesworth et al., *Feminist Approaches to International Law*, 85 AM. J. INT'L L. 613 (1991).
- Gracia Clark, *Implications of Global Polarization for Feminist Work*, 4 IND. J. GLOBAL LEGAL STUD. 43 (1996).
- Diane Elson, *Micro, Meso, Macro: Gender and Economic Analysis in the Context of Policy Reform*, in THE STRATEGIC SILENCE: GENDER AND ECONOMIC POLICY (Isabella Bakker ed., 1994).
- Kerry Rittich, *Transformed Pursuits: The Quest for Equality in Globalized Markets*, 13 HARV. HUM. RTS. J. 231 (2000).
- G. Kenneth Dau-Schmidt, *Dividing the Surplus: Will Globalization Give Women a Larger or Smaller Share of the Benefits of Cooperative Production?*, 4 IND. J. GLOBAL LEGAL STUD. 51 (1996).
- WOMEN, GLOBALIZATION AND FRAGMENTATION IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD (Afsher Haleh & Stephanie Barrientos eds., 1999).
- J.K. Gibson-Graham, *THE END OF CAPITALISM (AS WE KNEW IT): A FEMINIST CRITIQUE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY* (1996).
- Angela Keller-Herzog, *Globalisation and Gender Development Perspectives and Interventions* (Discussion Paper prepared for the Canadian Int'l Dev. Agency, 1996), available at <http://www.acdi-cidu.gc.ca/home>.
- GLOBALIZATION FROM A FEMALE PERSPECTIVE: TAKING STOCK AND LOOKING FORWARD, ONE WORLD SERIES, Vol. 6 (Ruth Klingebiel & Shalini Randeria eds., 1998).
- Jill Krause, *Gender Inequalities and Feminist Politics in a Global Perspective*, in GLOBALIZATION: THEORY AND PRACTICE 226 (Eleonore Kofman & Gillian Youngs eds., 1996).
- Lorraine Corner, *WOMEN, MEN AND ECONOMICS—A GENDER DIFFERENTIATED IMPACT OF MACROECONOMICS* (1997) available at <http://www.unifem-eseasia.org/ecogov-apas/EEGKnowledgeBase/WomenMenEconomics/womenmeneconomics.pdf>.
- Martha MacDonald, *What is Feminist Economics?*, in WOMEN AND WORK IN A GLOBALIZED ECONOMY, BEYOND LAW, Vol. 5, 11 (Instituto Latinoamericano de Servicios Legales Alternativos ed., 1996).
- L. Maria Ontiveros, *A Vision of Global Capitalism that Puts Women and People of Color at the Center*, 3 J. SMALL & EMERGING BUS. L. 27 (1999).

- Anne Orford, *Contesting Globalization: A Feminist Perspective on the Future of Human Rights*, 8 TRANSNAT'L L. & CONTEMP. PROBS. 172 (1998).
- Tasha David, *WORLD'S APART: WOMEN AND THE GLOBAL ECONOMY* (Int'l Confederation of Free Trade Unions 1996).
- U.N. RESEARCH INST. OF SOCIAL DEV., *WORKING TOWARDS A MORE GENDER EQUITABLE MACRO-ECONOMIC AGENDA* (1996).
- WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM (WILPF), *BREAD AND ROSES: WOMEN DEFINE GLOBALIZATION* (1998).
- Kathleen Peratis et al., *Markets and Women's International Human Rights*, 25 BROOKLYN J. INT'L L. 141 (1999).
- S. Anne Runyan, *The Places of Women in Trading Places: Gendered Global/Regional Regimes and Inter-nationalized Feminist Resistance*, in *GLOBALIZATION: THEORY AND PRACTICE* 238 (E. Kofman & G. Youngs eds., 1996).
- Saskia Sassen, *Towards a Feminist Analytic of the Global Economy*, 4 IND. J. GLOBAL LEGAL STUD. 7 (1996).
- Gita Sen, *Globalization, Justice and Equity: A Gendered Perspective*, DEVELOPMENT, Vol. 40, No. 2, 21 (1997).
- Gita Sen, *Gender, Markets and State: A Selected Review and Research Agenda*, WORLD DEVELOPMENT, Vol. 24, No. 5, 821.
- Barbara Stark, *Women and Globalization: The Failure of Postmodern Possibilities*, 33 VAND. J. TRANSNAT'L L. 503 (2000).
- Shelly Wright, *Women and the Global Economic Order: A Feminist Perspective*, 10 AM. U. J. INT'L L. & POL'Y 861 (1995).
- Shelly Wright, *Economic Rights and Social Justice: A Feminist Analysis of Some International Human Rights Convention*, 12 AUSTL. Y.B. INT'L L. 241 (1992).

B. WOMEN AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE

- DEBORAH BARNDT, *WOMEN WORKING THE NAFTA FOOD CHAIN: WOMEN, FOOD AND GLOBALIZATION* (1999).
- Lourdes Benerua & Amy Lind, *Engendering International Trade: Concepts, Policy, and Action* (GSD: Working Paper Series, No. 5, 1995), available at <http://www.Ifias.ca/GSD/Beneria.contents.html>.
- GENDER, SCIENCE AND DEV. PROGRAMME (GSD) AND U. N. DEV. FUND FOR WOMEN, *ENGENDERING INTERNATIONAL TRADE: WOMEN IN THE PTA REGION—REPORT OF A REGIONAL SEMINAR* (1995).
- SUSAN JOEKES & ANN WESTON, *WOMEN AND THE NEW TRADE AGENDA* (UNIFEM, 1995).
- Susan Joekes, *A Gender Perspective on Development and Trade*, FOCUS ON TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT, Vol. 3, No. 2, 81 (1995).
- Susan Joekes, *TRADE-RELATED EMPLOYMENT FOR WOMEN IN INDUSTRY AND SERVICES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES*, Paper No. 5 (U.N. Research Inst. Of Social Dev. 1995), available at <http://www.rrojasdatabank.org/opb5-09.htm>.
- Marilee Karl, *INSEPARABLE: THE CRUCIAL ROLE OF WOMEN IN FOOD SECURITY* (1996).
- Lorna Marsden, *TIMING AND PRESENCE: GETTING WOMEN'S ISSUES ON THE TRADE AGENDA*. GENDER, Working Paper Series: GSO-3, No. 3 (1993).
- MARIA MIES, *A BREAKDOWN IN RELATIONS: WOMEN, FOOD SECURITY AND TRADE* (1996).
- Maria Riley & Rocio Mejia, *Gender in the Global Trading System*, DEVELOPMENT, Vol. 40, No. 3, 30 (1997).

Vandana Shiva, *CALIBER OF DESTRUCTION: GLOBALIZATION, FOOD SECURITY AND WOMEN'S LIVELIHOOD* (1996).

WIDE, *A PRELIMINARY NOTE HIGHLIGHTING THE CONCEPTUAL AND POLICY LINK BETWEEN GENDER AND TRADE* (1997).

C. WOMEN, WORK, AND THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

Fran Ansley, *What's the Globe Got to do with It?, Afterwords to HARD LABOR: WOMEN AND WORK IN THE POST-WELFARE ERA* 207 (Joel F. Handler & Lucie White eds., 1999).

Luz Gabriela Arango, *Industrial Competitiveness and Gender Equity: Two Incompatible Objectives*, in *WOMEN AND WORK IN A GLOBALIZED ECONOMY*, 5 *BEYOND LAW* No. 14, 37 (Instituto Latinoamericano de Servicios Legales Alternativas ed., 1996).

Florence Babb, *From Co-ops to Kitchens*, *CULTURAL SURVIVAL QUARTERLY*, Vol. 16, No. 4, 41 (1992).

Isabella Bakker, *Pay Equity and Economic Restructuring: The Polarization of Policy?*, in *JUST WAGES: A FEMINIST ASSESSMENT OF PAY EQUITY* (J. Fudge & P. McDermott eds., 1990).

B. Lucy Bednarek, Note: *The Gender Wage Gap: Searching for Equality in a Global Economy*, 6 *IND. J. GLOBAL LEG. STUD.* 213 (1998).

UNEQUAL BURDEN: *ECONOMIC CRISIS, PERSISTENT POVERTY AND WOMEN'S WORK* (Lourdea Beneria & Shelly Feldman eds., 1992).

Marjorie Griffin Cohen, *FREE TRADE AND THE FUTURE OF WOMEN'S WORK* (1987).

A. Lance Compa, *Labor Rights and Labor Standards in International Trade*, 25 *LAW & POL'Y BUS.* 165 (1993).

HUMAN RIGHTS, LABOR RIGHTS, AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE (A. Lance Compa & Stephen F. Diamond eds., 1996).

S. Daniel Ehrenberg, *From Intention to Action: An ILO-GATT/WTO Enforcement Regime for International Labor Rights*, in *HUMAN RIGHTS, LABOR RIGHTS, AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE* 163 (Lance A. Compa & Stephen F. Diamond eds., 1996).

Laura Ho et al., *(Dis)assembling Rights of Women Workers Along the Global Assembly line: Human Rights and the Garment Industry*, 31 *HAR. C.R.-C.L. L. REV.* 383 (1996).

Susan Horton, *Marginalization Revisited: Women's Market Work and Pay, and Economic Development*, 27 *WORLD DEV.* 571 (1991).

John P. Isa, *Testing the NAALC's Dispute Resolution System: A Case Study*, 7 *AM. U. J. GENDER SOC. POL'Y & L.* 179 (1999).

Susan Joekas, *TRADE-RELATED EMPLOYMENT FOR WOMEN IN INDUSTRY AND SERVICES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES*, Paper No. 5 (U.N. Research Inst. Of Social Dev. 1995).

RACHAEL KAMEL, *THE GLOBAL FACTORY: ANALYSIS AND ACTION FOR A NEW ECONOMIC ERA* (1990).

Virginia A. Leary, *The Paradox of Workers' Rights as Human Rights*, in *HUMAN RIGHTS, LABOR RIGHTS, AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE* 22 (Lance A. Compa & Stephen F. Diamond eds., 1996).

Rekha Mehra & Sarah Gammage, *Trends, Countertrends, and Gaps in Women's Employment*, 27 *WORLD DEV.* 533 (1999).

INDUSTRIAL POLICIES AND WOMEN'S WORK FOR THE FUTURE (Swasti Mitter & Cecilia Ng Cheen Sim eds., UNU/INTECH 1997).

- Valentine M. Moghadam, *Gender Aspects of Employment and Unemployment in a Global Perspective*, in GLOBAL EMPLOYMENT: AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE FUTURE OF WORK 111 (Mihaly Simsi ed., 1995).
- Zafiris Tzannatos, *Women and Labor Market Changes in the Global Economy: Growth Helps, Inequalities Hurt and Public Policy Matters*, 27 WORLD DEV. 551 (1999).
- Winifred R. Poster, *Globalization, Gender, and the Workplace: Women and Men in an American Multinational Corporation in India*, J. OF DEVELOPING SOCIETIES, Vol. 14, No. 1, 40 (1998).
- NO SWEATS: FASHION, FREE TRADE AND THE RIGHTS OF GARMENT WORKERS (Andrew Ross ed., 1997).
- Guy Standing, *Global Feminization through Flexible Labor: A Theme Revisited*, 27 WORLD DEV. 583 (1999).
- Peter Stalker, *THE WORK OF STRANGERS: A SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL LABOR MIGRATION* (1994).
- Katherine Van Wezel Stone, *Labor and the Global Economy: Four Approaches to Transnational Labor Regulation*, 16 MICH. J. INT'L. L. 987 (1995).
- THE ALTERNATIVE WOMEN IN DEV. WORKING GROUP, *BREAKING BOUNDARIES: WOMEN, FREE TRADE, AND ECONOMIC INTEGRATION* (1993).
- WOMEN WORKER AND GLOBAL RESTRUCTURING (Kathryn Ward ed., 1990).
- Hania Zlotnik, *Women as Migrants and Workers in Developing Countries*, INT'L J. OF CONTEMP. SOC., Vol. 30, No. 1, 39 (1993).

D. WOMEN AND GLOBAL ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS—THE WORLD BANK, THE IMF, AND THE WTO

- WOMEN AND ADJUSTMENT IN THE THIRD WORLD (Haleh Afshar & Carolynne Dennis eds., 1992).
- Mayra Buvnik et al., *INVESTING IN WOMEN: PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS FOR THE WORLD BANK*, Policy Essay No. 19 (World Bank 1996).
- CEEWA & WIDE, *ADJUSTING ADJUSTMENT* (1996).
- Diane Elson, *Male Biase in Structural Adjustment*, in WOMEN AND ADJUSTMENT IN THE THIRD WORLD 46 (H. Afshar & C. Dennis eds., 1994).
- Caren Grown, *Structural Adjustment, Demographic Change and Population Policies: Some Preliminary Notes*, in THE STRATEGIC SILENCE: GENDER AND ECONOMIC POLICY 61 (Isabella Bakker ed., 1994).
- Carol Miller & Shahra Razavi, *MISSIONARIES AND MANDARINS: FEMINIST ENGAGEMENT WITH DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTIONS* (1998).
- Swapna Mukhopadhyay, *The Impact of Structural Adjustment Policies on Women: Some General Observations Relating to Conceptual Bias* in THE STRATEGIC SILENCE: GENDER AND ECONOMIC POLICY 158 (Isabella Bakker ed., 1994).
- Josette L. Murphy, *MAINSTREAMING GENDER IN WORLD BANK LENDING: AN UPDATE* (1997).
- Josette L. Murphy, *GENDER ISSUES IN WORLD BANK LENDING* (1995).
- Teresita Olivero, *Impact of New World Trade Regime on Peasant Women in the Philippines*, THIRD WORLD RESURGENCE, No. 86 (1997), available at <http://www.twinside.org.sg/title/regime-cn.htm>.
- Bharati Sadasivam, *The Impact of Structural Adjustment on Women: A Governance and Human Rights Agenda*, 19 HUM. RTS. Q. 630 (1997).

- Gita Sen, *GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN FINANCE: A REFERENCE MANUAL FOR GOVERNMENTS AND OTHER STAKEHOLDERS* (1999).
- MORTGAGING WOMEN'S LIVES: A FEMINIST CRITIQUES OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT (Pamela Sparr ed., 1994).
- WOMEN PAY THE PRICE: STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT IN AFRICA AND THE CARIBBEAN (Gloria Thomas-Eneagwali ed., 1995).
- WIDE, A PRIMER ON THE WTO (1997).
- WIDE, NO TO TRADE IN WOMEN'S HUMAN RIGHTS, Position Paper (1999).
- Marjorie W. Williams, *Gender, Productivity and Macro-economic Policies in the Context of Structural Adjustment and Change*, in *THE STRATEGIC SILENCE: GENDER AND ECONOMIC POLICY 71* (Isabella Bakker ed., 1994).
- Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO).
- WEDO, A GENDER AGENDA FOR THE WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION: A WEDO PRIMER ON WOMEN AND TRADE (1999).
- WEDO, WEDO PRIMERS: UNDERSTANDING THE IMPACT OF GLOBAL ECONOMY ON WOMEN AND THE ENVIRONMENT (1995).
- MARIAMA WILLIAM, FREE TRADE OR FAIR TRADE?: DAWNS DISCUSSION PAPER ON THE WTO (1999).
- WOMEN'S EYES ON THE WORLD BANK, A CITIZENS' GUIDE TO GENDER AND THE WORLD BANK (1996), available at http://www.bicua.org/publications/cit_guide.pdf.
- WOMEN'S EYES ON THE WORLD BANK, GENDER EQUITY AND THE WORLD BANK GROUP: A POST BEIJING ASSESSMENT (1997).
- WOMEN'S INT'L LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM (WILPF), JUSTICE DENIED! HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS (1994).
- THE WORLD BANK, WORLD BANK, GENDER AND LAW: EASTERN AFRICA SPEAKS (Proceedings of the Conference Organized by the World Bank and the Economic Commission for Africa, 1998).
- E. TRANSNATIONAL SPACES AND THE GLOBAL FLESH TRADE: TRAFFICKING, PROSTITUTION, MAIL-ORDER BRIDE, ETC.
- Tani E. Barlow, *Green Blade in the Act of being Grazed: Late Capital, Flexible Bodies, Critical Intelligibility*, DIFFERENCES: FEMINIST CULTURAL STUD., Vol. 10, 119 (1998), available at <http://muse.jhu.edu/demo/dif/10.3barlow.html>.
- Denise Brennan, *Women at Work: Sex Tourism in Sousa, the Dominican Republic*, CRITICAL MATRIX: PRINCE. J. WOMEN, GENDER & CULTURE, Vol. 11, No. 2, 17 (1999).
- Janie Chuang, *Redirecting the Debate Over Trafficking in Women: Definitions, Paradigms, and Contexts*, 11 HARV. HUM. RTS. J. 65 (1998).
- Christine S.Y. Chun, *The Mail-Order Bride Industry: The Perceptuation of Transnational Economic Inequalities and Stereotypes*, 17 UNIV. PENN. J. INT'L ECON. L. 1155 (1996).
- The International Flesh Trade . . . Grim Echoes of 19th-Century Slavery*, CQ RESEARCHER, Vol. 3, No. 22, pp. 516 (1993).
- Jo Doezenia, *Forced to Choose: Beyond the Voluntary v. Forced Prostitution Dichotomy*, in *GLOBAL SEX WORKERS: RIGHTS, RESISTANCE, AND REDEFINITION 34* (Kamala Kemoadoo & Jo Doezenia Jo eds., 1998).
- Eddy Meng, Note: *Mail-Order Brides: Gilded Prostitution and the Legal Response*, 28 U. MICH. J. L. REFORM 197 (1994).

- Zillah R. Eisenstein, *GLOBAL OBSCENITIES: PATRIARCHY, CAPITALISM, AND THE LURE OF CYBERFANTASY* (1998).
- Amy L. Elson, *The Mail-Order Bride Industry and Immigration: Combating Immigration Fraud*, 5 *IND. J. OF GLOBAL LEGAL STUD.* 367 (1997).
- Stephanie Farrior, *The International Law on Trafficking in Women and Children for Prostitution: Making It Live Up to Its Potential*, 10 *HARV. HUM. RTS. J.* 213 (1997).
- Laurie Hauber, Note: *The Trafficking of Women for Prostitution: A Growing Problem Within the European Union*, 21 *B.C. INT'L & COMP. L. REV.* 183 (1988).
- Carol H. Hauge, *Prostitution of Women and International Human Rights Law: Transforming Exploitation into Equality*, 8 *N.Y. INT'L L. REV.* 23 (1995).
- GLOBAL SEX WORKERS: RIGHTS, RESISTANCE, AND REDEFINITION (Kamala Kemoadoo & Jo Doezenia Jo eds., 1998).
- Kamala Kemoadoo, *Introduction: Globalizing Sex Workers' Rights*, in *GLOBAL SEX WORKERS: RIGHTS, RESISTANCE, AND REDEFINITION 1* (Kamala Kemoadoo & Jo Doezenia Jo eds., 1998).
- COMBATING TRAFFIC IN PERSONS: PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE ON TRAFFICK IN PERSONS (Marieke Klap et al. eds., 1995).
- Maya Raghu, *Sex Trafficking of Thai Women to the United States and the U.S. Asylum Law Response*, 12 *GEO. IMMIGR. L.J.* 145 (1997).
- RYAN BISHOP & LILLIAN S. ROBINSON, *THE SEX SECTOR: THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL BASES OF PROSTITUTION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA* (1998).
- Elizabeth Spahn, *Shattered Jade, Broken Shoe: Foreign Economic Development and the Sexual Exploitation of Women*, 50 *ME. L. REV.* 255 (1998).
- Siriporn Skrobanek et al., *THE TRAFFIC IN WOMEN: HUMAN REALITIES OF THE INTERNATIONAL SEX TRADE* (1997).
- Susan Fianne Toepfer & Bryan Stuart Wells, *The Worldwide Market for Sex: A Review of International and Regional Legal Prohibitions Regarding Trafficking in Women*, 2 *MICH. J. GENDER & L.* 83 (1994).
- Trafficking of Women and Children in the International Sex Trade: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on International Operations and Human Rights of the Comm. on Int'l Relations*, 106th Congress (1999).
- Becki Young, *Trafficking of Humans Across United States Borders: How United States Laws Can Be Used to Punish Traffickers and Protect Victims*, 13 *GEO. IMMIGR. L.J.* 73 (1998).

F. WOMEN AND NEW TECHNOLOGIES

- Margaret Bruce, *RECURRING PATTERNS: GENDER AND THE DESIGN OF INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES* (1990).
- Maznah, Mohamad & Cecilia Ng, *Flexible Labor Regimes, New Technologies and Women's Labor: Case Studies of Two Electronics Firms in Malaysia*, 3 *ASIAN J. WOMEN'S STUD.*, Vol. 8 (1997).
- SWASTI MITTER & SHEILA ROWBOTHAM, *WOMEN ENCOUNTER TECHNOLOGY: CHANGING PATTERNS OF EMPLOYMENT IN THE THIRD WORLD* (1995).
- CECILIA NG et al., *NEW TECHNOLOGIES AND THE FUTURE OF WOMEN'S WORK IN ASIA* (UNU/INTECH, Maastricht, 1995).

- Mayuri Odedra-Straub, *Women and Information Technology in Subsaharan Africa: A Topic for Discussion?*, in Swasti Mitter & Sheila Rowbotham, *WOMEN ENCOUNTER TECHNOLOGY: CHANGING PATTERNS OF EMPLOYMENT IN THE THIRD WORLD* 256-77 (1995).
- Ruth Pearson, *THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY: HEALTH AND SAFETY CONSIDERATION FROM A GENDER PERSPECTIVE* (1993).
- Devon Pena, *THE TERROR OF THE MACHINE: TECHNOLOGY, WORK, GENDER AND ECOLOGY ON THE U.S./MEXICO BORDER* (1995).
- Eva Rathgeber & Edith Ofwona Adera, *GENDER AND THE INFORMATION DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA* (2000).
- Sheila Rowbotham, *Feminist Approaches to Technology: Women's Values or Gender Lense?*, in Swasti Mitter & Sheila Rowbotham, *WOMEN ENCOUNTER TECHNOLOGY: CHANGING PATTERNS OF EMPLOYMENT IN THE THIRD WORLD* 44-69 (1995).
- Saskia, Everts, *GENDER AND TECHNOLOGY: EMPOWERING WOMEN; ENGENDERING DEVELOPMENT* (1998).
- BIOPOLITICS: A FEMINIST AND ECOLOGICAL READER ON BIOTECHNOLOGY* (Vandana Shiva & Ingunn Moser eds., 1995).
- GENDER AND TECHNOLOGY* (Caroline Sweetman ed., 1998).
- UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY FOR DEVELOPMENT, *MISSING LINKS: GENDER EQUITY IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY FOR DEVELOPMENT* (1995).
- GENDER AND TECHNOLOGY—AN AGENDA FOR POLICY. PAPER PREPARED BY FOR THE WORLD TELECOMMUNICATIONS DEVELOPMENT CONFERENCE (UNU/INTECH & UNIFEM, 1998).*
- Juliet Webster, *SHAPING WOMEN'S WORK: GENDER, EMPLOYMENT, AND INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY* (1996).

G. MARKETS, WOMEN, AND VIOLENCE

- Kelsey S. Barnes, *The Economics of Violence: Why Freedom From Domestic Violence Must Be Treated As a Developmental Right in International Law*, 6 U. MIAMI Y.B. INT'L L. 97 (1997-98).
- Ann D. Jordan, *Human Rights, Violence Against Women, and Economic Development (The People's Republic of China Experience)*, 5 COLUM. J. GENDER & L. 216 (1996).
- Alex Y. Seita, *The Role of Market Forces in Transnational Violence*, 60 ALB. L. REV. 635 (1997).

H. GLOBALIZATION AND WOMEN'S HEALTH

- Julie Delahanty & Mashuda Khatun Shefali, *From Social Movements to Social Change: Assessing Strategies for Improving Women's Health and Labour Conditions in the Garment Sector*, 42 DEVELOPMENT, No. 4, Dec. 1, 1999, at 98-102.
- Vanitha Subramaniam, *The Impact of Globalization on Women's Reproductive Health and Rights: A Regional Perspective*, 42 DEVELOPMENT No. 4, Dec. 1, 1999, at 145-49.
- Linda M. Whiteford, *Child and Maternal Health and International Economic Policies*, 37 SOC. SCI. & MED., No. 11, 1391 (1993).

I. GLOBALIZATION, CITIZENSHIP, DEMOCRACY, AND IMMIGRATION: FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES

- HALEH AFSHAR, *WOMEN, GLOBALIZATION AND FRAGMENTATION IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD* (1999).
- T. Chants, *Towards a Framework for Analysis of Gender Selective Migration*, in *GENDER AND MIGRATION IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES* (S. Chant ed., 1992).
- Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo, *Feminism and Immigration*, 571 *ANNALS AM. ACAD. POL. & SOC. SCI.* 107 (2000).
- Barabara Einhorn, *CINDERELLA GOES TO MARKET: CITIZENSHIP, GENDER AND WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS IN EAST CENTRAL EUROPE* (1993).
- Zillah Eisenstein, *Stop Stomping on the Rest of US: Retrieving Publicness from the Privatization of the Globe*, 4 *IND. J. GLOBAL LEGAL STUD.* 59-95 (1996).
- Kenneth G. Dau-Schmidt, *Dividing the Surplus: Will Globalization Give Women A Larger or Smaller Share of the Benefits of Cooperative Production?*, 5 *IND. J. GLOBAL LEGAL STUD.* 51 (1996).
- Christopher C. Joyner & George E. Little, *It's Not Nice to Fool Mother Nature! The Mystique of Feminist Approaches to International Environmental Law*, 14 *B. INT'L L. J.* 223 (1996).
- Patricia M. Fernandez, *RETHINKING CITIZENSHIP IN THE GLOBAL VILLAGE: REFLECTIONS ON IMMIGRANTS AND THE UNDERCLASS* (1993).
- Kelly R. Katrina & Joan Fitzpatrick, *Gendered Aspects of Migration: Law and the Female Migrant*, 22 *HASTINGS INT'L & COMP. L. REV.* 47 (Fall 1998).
- Patricia M. Fernandez, *Underclass and Immigrant Women as Economic Actors: Rethinking Citizenship in a Changing Global Economy*, 9 *AM. U. J. INT'L L. & POL'Y* 151 (1993).
- Saskia Sassen, *Introduction: Whose City Is It?, Globalization and the Formation of New Claims*, in *GLOBALIZATION AND ITS DISCONTENTS* (1998).
- Raj, Mohini Sethi, *GLOBALIZATION, CULTURE, AND WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT* (1999).
- Susan H. William, *Globalization, Privatization, and a Feminist Public*, 4 *IND. J. GLOBAL LEGAL STUD.*, No. 1, 97-105 (1996).

J. REGIONAL PERSPECTIVES

1. Africa

- AFRICAN WOMEN'S ECONOMIC POLICY NETWORK, *WOMEN STANDING UP TO ADJUSTMENT IN AFRICA* (1996).
- Nahid Aslanbeigui et al., *WOMEN IN THE AGE OF ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION* (1994).
- Jane Dwasi, *Kenya: A Study in International Labor Standards and Their Effect on Working Women in Developing Countries: The Case for Integration of Enforcement Issues in World Bank Policies*, 17 *WIS. INT'L L. J.* 347 (1999).
- Gisela Geusker & Karen Tranberg Hansen, *Structural Adjustment, The Rural-Urban Interface and Gender Relations in Zambia*, in *WOMEN IN THE AGE OF ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION* (Nahid Aslanbeigui et al. eds., 1994).
- Christina H. Gladwin, *STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT AND AFRICAN WOMEN FARMERS* (1991).
- Gwendolyn Mikell, *African Structural Adjustment: Women and Legal Challenges*, 69 *ST. JOHN'S L. REV.* 7 (1995).

2. Asia

- Edna Bonachichi, *GLOBAL PRODUCTION: THE APPAREL INDUSTRY IN THE PACIFIC RIM* (1994).
- Marilyn Carr, *GENDER IMPLICATIONS OF GLOBALIZATION* (UNIFEM, 1998).
- COMMITTEE FOR ASIAN WOMEN (CAW), *SILK AND STEEL: ASIAN WOMEN WORKERS CONFRONT CHALLENGES OF INDUSTRIAL RESTRUCTURING* (1995).
- Heather Gibbs, *GENDER FRONT & CENTRE: AN APEC PRIMER* (1997).
- Aasha Kapur Mehta, *GLOBAL TRADING PRACTICES AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION IN SOUTH ASIA: REGIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON WOMEN AND TRADE* (UNIFEM, 1996).
- Kibria Nazli, *BECOMING A GARMENTS WORKER: THE MOBILIZATION OF WOMEN INTO THE GARMENTS FACTORIES OF BANGLADESH* (UNRISD, 1998).
- Lori Pennay, *THE DISPROPORTIONATE EFFECT OF ASIAN ECONOMIC CRISIS ON WOMEN: THE FILIPINA EXPERIENCE*, 21 U. PA. J. INT'L ECON. L. 427 (2000).
- Pawadee Tonguthai, *Asian Women in Manufacturing: New Challenges, Old Problems, in GLOBAL EMPLOYMENT: AN INTERNATIONAL INVESTIGATION INTO THE FUTURE OF WORK* 167 (Mihaly Simai ed., 1995).
- UNIFEM & CIDA-SEAGEP, *BRIEFING KIT ON "WOMEN IN A GLOBAL ECONOMY: CHALLENGE AND OPPORTUNITY IN THE CURRENT ASIAN ECONOMIC CRISIS"* (1998).
- TRADE LIBERALIZATION: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND BEYOND (Vivienne Wee ed., ENGENDER & UNIFEM, 1998).

3. Central Asia, Eastern Europe, the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)

- Nahid Aslanbeigui et al., *WOMEN IN THE AGE OF ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION: GENDER IMPACT OF REFORM IN POST-SOCIALIST AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES* (1994).
- Elizabeth Brainerd, *DISTRIBUTIONAL CONSEQUENCES OF ECONOMIC REFORM IN RUSSIA & EASTERN EUROPE* (1996).
- SUPERWOMEN AND THE DOUBLE BURDEN: WOMEN'S EXPERIENCE OF CHANGE IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE AND THE FORMER SOVIET UNION* (Chris Corin ed., 1992).
- Barbara Einhorn, *CINDERELLA GOES TO MARKET: CITIZENSHIP, GENDER AND THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN EAST CENTRAL EUROPE* (1993).
- MAKING THE TRANSITION WORK FOR WOMEN IN EUROPE AND CENTRAL ASIA* (Marina Lazreg ed., 2000).
- Tamara Lothian, *Women's Rights and Political Economy*, 12 CONN. J. INT'L L. 67 (1996).
- PRIVATIZATION AND DEMOCRATIZATION IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE AND THE SOVIET UNION: THE GENDER DIMENSION* (Helsinki: World Institute for Development Economic Research of the United Nations University) (Valentine M. Moghadam ed., 1996).
- Emily Stoper & Emilia Ianeva, *Democratization and Women's Employment in Post-Communist Bulgaria*, 12 CONN. J. INT'L L. 9 (1996).
- WOMEN IN THE POLITICS OF POST-COMMUNIST EASTERN EUROPE* (Marilyn Rueschemeyer ed., 1994).
- Patricia M. Wald, *Some Unsolicited Advice to my Women Friends in Eastern Europe*, 46 SMU L. REV. 557 (1992).
- WOMEN IN POST-COMMUNISM* (Barbara Wejnert et al. eds., 1996).

4. The European Union (EU)

- Mary Braithwaite, *Mainstreaming Equal Opportunities into the Structural Funds* (2000).
- Rachel A. Cichowski, *Empowerment through Supranational Venues: Women's Activism, the European Court and the Evolution of Sex Equality Policy in the EU*, paper presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Boston, Sept. 3-6, 1998.
- Communication from the Commission to the Council: A New Partnership Between Women and Men: Equal Sharing and Participation. The European Community's Priorities for the Fourth UN World Conference on Women, Beijing, Sept. 1995, COM(95)221 final.
- Communication from the Commission: Incorporating Equal Opportunities for Women and Men into All Community Policies and Activities, COM(96)67 final.
- Proposal for Guidelines for Member States' Employment Policies, COM(97)497 final.
- A Guide to Gender Impact Assessment*, Doc. EQOP 42-97en, DG V/D/5, 8 Oct. 1997.
- Progress Report from the Commission on the Follow-Up of the Communication: 'Incorporating Equal Opportunities for Women and Men into All Community Policies and Activities, COM(98)122 final.
- Equal Opportunities for Women and Men in the European Union, Annual Report 1997, COM(98)302 final.
- From Guidelines to Action: The National Action Plans for Employment, COM(1998)316 final.
- Gender and the National Action Plans on Employment (NAPs), Doc. EQOP 56-98, DG V/D/5, 7 July.
- Dossier: Structural Funds: Keeping Tuned to Changing Times*, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES MAGAZINE, No. 6, 13-25 Dec., 1998.
- Annual Report from the Commission: Equal Opportunities for Women and Men in the European Union 1998, COM(1999)106 final.
- Evelyn Ellis, *Recent Developments in European Community Sex Equality Law*, 35 COMMON MARKET L. REV. 379 (1998).
- Amy R. Elman, *The EU and Women: Virtual Equality*, in 4 THE STATE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION 225-239 (Pierre-Henri Laurent & Marc Maresceau eds., 1997).
- European Parliament, *Report on the Proposal for a Council Regulation (EC) on Integrating Gender Issues in Development Cooperation*, Committee on Development and Cooperation (Rapporteur: Mrs. Karin Junker), Document A4-0318/97 (1997).
- Catherine Hoskyns, *INTEGRATING GENDER: WOMEN, LAW AND POLITICS IN THE EUROPEAN UNION* (1996).
- Nuket Kardam, *BRINGING WOMEN IN: WOMEN'S ISSUES IN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS* (1991).
- Sonia Mazey, *The Development of EU Equality Policies: Bureaucratic Expansion on Behalf of Women?*, 73 PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION 591 (1995).
- Sonia Mazey, *The European Union and Women's Rights: From the Europeanization of National Agendas to the Nationalization of a European Agenda*, 5 J. EUR. PUBLIC POL'Y, No. 1, 131-52 (1998).
- Sonia Mazey, *The development of EU equality policies: Bureaucratic expansion on behalf of women?*, 73 PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, No. 4, 591 (1995).

- Mark A. Pollack & Emilie Hafner-Burton, *MAINSTREAMING GENDER IN THE EUROPEAN UNION*, (Harvard Jean Monnet, Working Papers No. 2/00, 2002) available at www.law.harvard.edu/programs/jeanMonnet/papers/00/000201.html.
- Mary Osborn, *Facts and Figures Still Show Little Room at the Top for Women in Science in Most EU Countries*, in EUROPEAN COMMISSION, *WOMEN AND SCIENCE: PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE 83-108* (OFFICE FOR OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES ed., 1998).
- Ilona Ostner & Jane Lewis, *Gender and the Evolution of European Social Policies*, in EUROPEAN SOCIAL POLICY: BETWEEN FRAGMENTATION AND INTEGRATION (Stephan Leibfried & Paul Pierson eds., 1995).
- John Peterson & Elizabeth Bomberg, *DECISION-MAKING IN THE EUROPEAN UNION* (1999).
- Teresa Rees, *MAINSTREAMING EQUALITY IN THE EUROPEAN UNION: EDUCATION, TRAINING, AND LABOR MARKET POLICIES* (1998).
- Hilary Rose, *A Fair Share of the Research Pie or Re-Engendering Scientific and Technological Europe?*, 6 EUR. J. WOMEN'S STUD. 31 (1999).
- Ramsumair Singh, *Equal opportunities for men and women in the EU: a Commentary*, 28 INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS J., No. 1, 68 (1997).
- Myriam Vander Stichele, *Gender Mapping the European Union Trade Policy* (WIDE eds., 1997).

5. Latin America, the Caribbean and NAFTA

- Jose E. Alvarez, *Critical Theory and the North American Free Trade Agreement's Chapter Eleven*, 28 U. MIAMI INTER-AM. L. REV. 303 (1996).
- Fran Ansley, *The Gulf of Mexico, The Academy, and Me: Hazards of Boundary Crossing*, 78 SOUNDINGS 1, 69 (Spring 1995).
- Fran Ansley, *North American Free Trade Agreement: The Public Debate*, 22 GA J. INT'L & COMP. L. 329 (1992).
- Fran Ansley, *U.S. —Mexico Free Trade from the Bottom: A Postcard from the Border*, 1 TEX. J. WOMEN & L. 193 (1992).
- Catherine T. Barbieri, *Women Workers in Transition: The Potential Impact of the NAFTA Labor Side Agreements on Women Workers in Argentina and Chile*, 17 COMP. LAB. L. J., No. 3, 526 (1996).
- WOMEN WORKING THE NAFTA FOOD CHAIN: WOMEN, FOOD & GLOBALIZATION (Deborah Brandth ed., 1999).
- Maria Elena Cardero et al., *El impacto del TLC en la mano de obra femenina en Mexico* (The Impact of NAFTA on Women's Labour Force in Mexico), (UNIFEM ed., 1999).
- Stephen F. Diamond, *Labor Rights in the Global Economy: A Case Study of the North American Free Trade Agreement*, in HUMAN RIGHTS, LABOR RIGHTS, AN INTERNATIONAL TRADE 22 (Lance A. Compa & Stephen F. Diamond eds., 1996).
- Erika Gottfried, *MERCOSUR: A Tool To Further Women's Rights in the Member Nations*, 25 FORDHAM URB. L. J. 923 (1998).
- Nicole L. Grimm, *Comment: The North American Agreement on Labor Cooperation and Its Effects on Women Working in Mexican Maquiladoras*, 48 AM. U.L. REV. 179 (1998).
- MEXICO: A JOB OR YOUR RIGHT—CONTINUED SEX DISCRIMINATION IN MEXICO'S MAQUILADORA SECTOR, 10 Hum. Rts., Watch No. 1(b) (1998).

- Kevin Johnson, REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN NORTH AMERICA AND EUROPE: LESSONS ABOUT CIVIL RIGHTS AND EQUAL CITIZENSHIP, 9 U. MIAMI INT'L & COMP. L. REV. 33 (2000).
- Donald S. Macdonald, *Chapter 11 of NAFTA: What are the Implications for Sovereignty?*, 24 CAN-U.S. L. J. 281 (1998).
- Howard Mann, PRIVATE RIGHTS, PUBLIC PROBLEMS: A GUIDE TO NAFTA'S CONTROVERSIAL CHAPTER ON INVESTOR RIGHTS (2001), available at <http://www.iisd.org/trade/private-rights.htm> (last visited Nov. 8, 2002).
- Egla Martinez-Salazar, *The "Poisoning" of Indigenous Migrant Women Workers and Children: From Deadly Colonialism to Toxic Globalization*, in WOMEN WORKING THE NAFTA FOOD CHAIN: WOMEN, FOOD & GLOBALIZATION 99 (Deborah Barndt ed., 1999).
- MS. FOUNDATION FOR WOMEN, *The North American Free Trade Agreement: A Woman's Guide to the Realities*, EQUAL MEANS (Winter 1991).
- Denise Nadeau, WOMEN FIGHT BACK: MEXICAN AND CANADIAN WOMEN AND THE FREE TRADE DEAL, WOMAN TO WOMAN GLOBAL STRATEGIES (1992).
- Ann K. Nauman & Mireille Hutchinson, *The Integration of Women Into the Mexican Labor Force Since NAFTA*, 40 THE AM. BEHAVIORAL SCIENTIST, No. 7, 950 (1997).
- Ricardo Romo, *Between the Lines: A New Perspective on the Industrial Sociology of Women Workers in Transnational Labor Processes*, in CHICANA VOICES (University of New Mexico Press, 1993).

6. *Globalization, Global Feminism, New Social Movements: Towards a Third Way?*

- Penelope E. Andrews, *Globalization, Human Rights and Critical Race Feminism: Voices from the Margins*, 3 J. GENDER RACE & JUST. 373 (2000).
- Jeremy Brecher & Tim Costello, GLOBAL VILLAGE OR GLOBAL PILLAGE: ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION FROM THE BOTTOM UP (1994).
- Alfred C. Aman, *Introduction: Feminism & Globalization: The Impact of the Global Economy on Women and Feminist Theory*, IND. J. OF GLOBAL LEGAL STUD. 1 (1996).
- Rosi Braidotti et al., WOMEN, THE ENVIRONMENT AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT (1993).
- Garcia Clark, *Implications of Global Polarization for Feminist Work*, 4 IND. J. GLOBAL LEGAL STUD., No. 1, 43 (1996).
- Catherine Eschle, FEMINISM, SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, AND THE GLOBALIZATION OF DEMOCRACY (2000).
- Allen Hunter, *Globalization from Below? Promises and Perils of the New Internationalism*, 25 SOC. POL'Y, No. 4, 6-13 (Summer 1995).
- Thalia Kidder & Mary McGinn, *In the Wake of NAFTA: Transnational Worker's Network*, 25 SOC. POL'Y, No. 4, 13-21 (Summer 1995).
- Jill Krause, *Gender Inequalities and Feminist Politics in a Global Perspective*, in GLOBALIZATION: THEORY AND PRACTICE 225 (Eleonore Kofman & Gillian Youngs eds., 1996).
- Miriam Ching Louie & Linda Burnham, WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMY: A WORKBOOK (2000).
- Fedwa Malti-Douglas, *As the World (Or Dare I Say Globe?) Turns: Feminism and Transnationalism*, 4 IND. J. GLOBAL LEGAL STUD., No. 1, 137-144 (1996).

- Nitza Berkovitch, *The Emergence and Transformation of the International Women's Movement*, in *CONSTRUCTING WORLD CULTURES: INTERNATIONAL NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS SINCE 1870* (John Boli & George Thomas eds., 1996).
- Aihwa Ong, *Strategic Sisterhood or Sisters In Solidarity? Questions of Communitarianism and Citizenship in Asia*, 4 *IND. J. GLOBAL LEGAL STUD.*, No. 1, 107-135 (1996).
- Anne Orford, *Contesting Globalization: A Feminist Perspective on the Future of Human Rights*, 8 *TRANSNAT'L L. & CONTEMP. PROBS.* 172 (1998).
- C. Gabriel & L. Macdonald, *NAFTA, Women and Organising in Canada and Mexico: Forging a 'Feminist Internationality'*, 23 *MILLENNIUM*, No. 3, 535 (1994).
- Amede L. Obiora, *Feminism, Globalization, and Culture: After Beijing*, 4 *IND. J. OF GLOBAL LEGAL STUD.*, No. 2 (1996).
- CLOSE TO HOME: WOMEN RECONNECT ECOLOGY, HEALTH AND DEVELOPMENT WORLD-WIDE (Shiva Vandana ed., 1994).

7. Surveys & Reports

- UNITED NATIONS, 1994 WORLD SURVEY ON THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT—WOMEN IN A CHANGING GLOBAL ECONOMY (1995).
- UNITED NATIONS, 1999 WORLD SURVEY ON THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT—GLOBALIZATION, GENDER AND THE WORLD (1999).
- UNITED NATIONS, RISKS, RIGHTS AND REFORMS: KEY FINDINGS (1999).
- Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO).
- RISKS, RIGHTS AND REFORM: A 50-COUNTRY SURVEY ASSESSING GOVERNMENT ACTION FIVE YEARS AFTER THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT (WEDO ed., 1999).
- MAPPING PROGRESS: ASSESSING IMPLEMENTATION OF THE BEIJING PLATFORM (WEDO ed., 1998).

V. Conclusion: New Horizons, New Visions—Research Agenda for the Twenty-First Century

Overwhelmingly, emerging reports from women's groups in different countries suggest that economic globalization is having a disproportionately negative impact on women. In Cameroon, for example, the Women Environment and Development Organization report that "many civil servants, predominantly women, have lost their jobs due to cutbacks," and "cuts in the public health care services have affected women more than men."⁶⁶ The trend is not limited to the Third World. In Canada, the National Council on Welfare reports that "the downsizing in public and private sectors designed to make Canada more competitive in the global economy has cost women's well-being and increased women's poverty."⁶⁷ And, in Luxembourg, economic globalization is reported

66. WEDO, *supra* note 40, at 44.

67. *Id.* at 46. A 17.4 percent poverty rate is reported. Single mothers with children under eighteen had a high poverty rate at 57.2 percent. Overall, 70 percent of women and children are reported to be living in poverty.

to be widening existing gaps between men and women in terms of their access to economic power, thus rendering women "practically invisible on the landscape of financial, commercial and economic policy-making."⁶⁸

Yet, despite renewed efforts at engendering international economic law, there are still very few comprehensive studies on the impact of macroeconomic policies on women. It is still not clear how and to what extent macroeconomic policies and trade and investment agreements affect women's access to credit, property, land, housing, environmental resources and education. Furthermore, the full impact of globalization on rural women or women with special disabilities is not fully known or documented. A greater number of empirical studies are needed to affect more concrete reform proposals.

Under pressure from feminist scholars and women's organizations, some governments have begun to introduce policies aimed at cushioning the most vulnerable groups from the harshest effects of economic liberalization and restructuring. The effects of these measures, however, need to be seriously evaluated. In other words, it is still not clear how these "band-aid measures" actually cushion women and their children from the full brunt of marketization. In China, the government has created re-employment projects and preferential credit policy, and has encouraged diversified means of education.⁶⁹ In Costa Rica, the National Plan Against Poverty emphasizes the provision of education and training to women heads of households.⁷⁰ And in Ecuador, two funds exist to offset the adverse effects of globalization: the Fund for Social Investment (sponsored by the World Bank) and the Funds for Solidarity.⁷¹ Similar programs include the Program of Family Assignment (Honduras),⁷² the National Creche Fund and the National Credit Fund for Women (India),⁷³ and the Social Dimension to Development Initiative and the Women's Development Fund (Kenya).⁷⁴ Rarely have these new projects been subjected to serious scholarly evaluation. How women perceive these measures and the extent to which these measures fully address women's concerns about globalization remain to be evaluated.

Future research and scholarship must probe the successes and failures of the women's movement with respect to the goal of engendering international economic law and institutions. In recent times, campaigns targeting the policies of the key international

68. *Id.*

69. *Id.*

70. *Id.* at 56. Under the program, women receive economic incentive to participate and train in areas such as self-esteem, human rights education, health, and citizenship rights. It is unclear how such education equips women to cushion the harshest effects of marketization.

71. *Id.* at 65.

72. Under the program, some mothers receive thirty lempiras (approximately \$2.29) a month for each of their children in school. This complements the Honduras Fund for Social Investment and the School Bonus. *Id.* at 85.

73. The National Creche Fund provides support service for working women, while the National Credit Fund for Women provides credit to women in self-help groups with low transaction costs. *Id.* at 93.

74. *Id.* at 103. The Social Dimension to Development Initiative aims at addressing the special needs of the poor through programs for girls' education, single headed households, and access to credit.

economic institutions have been launched. The Women's Eyes on the World Bank Campaign⁷⁵ and the Women Take On the World Trade Organization Campaign (WTO2) are prime examples. Launched after the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China in 1995, the WTO2 Campaign's goal is "to give women—and civil society as a whole—access to the new international trade organization."⁷⁶ It is perhaps still too early to access the success of these campaigns. Nevertheless, sustained scrutiny of how international economic institutions respond to the pressure from women's groups is important for strategy evaluation. Clearly, if nothing important for women has changed in the organization and policy of these institutions, alternative strategies may have to be devised in the coming years. In short, what has worked, what has failed and what needs to be changed?

Discussion about the gender aspects of globalization is incomplete without a look at the fate of women in transition economies. Who are the winners and the losers in on-going privatization processes in Eastern Europe? To what extent have women been able to gain control of former state-owned enterprises? How are privatization and trade liberalization policies altering gender relations and rolling back past gains by women? In the Russian Federation, an estimated 70 percent of the unemployed are women (80 percent in urban areas), while women's wages have dropped to 40 percent of men's wages (down by 30 percent). Altogether, gender-segregation in the labor market is reported to be growing with women relegated to a narrow range of positions.⁷⁷ Overall, are more gender-sensitive paths to reform being ignored and, if so, why?

One note of caution: research energy still concentrates overwhelmingly on economic globalization to the neglect of legal, social, and cultural aspects of globalization. Studying the relationship of globalization to such phenomena as social movements and the legal system may suggest that globalization does not altogether spell doom for the world's women. Could globalization end patriarchy and the subordination of women in distant lands as new values challenge and erode cultural prejudices against women? In other words, does globalization hold the key to women's liberation from the hold of

75. One of the goals of the Campaign is to closely monitor World Bank's performance and hold it accountable to its new rhetoric on gender and women's issues. This includes the continued tracking of Bank-funded structural adjustment programs, advocating for specific policies as alternatives to traditional adjustment and closely tracking the NGO-World Bank Structural Adjustment Participatory Review Initiative (SAPRI). The Campaign has four objectives: "increase the participation of grassroots women in the Bank's economic policy-making; institutionalize a gender perspective in Bank policies and programs; increase Bank investments in women's health services, education, sustainable agriculture, land ownership, employment and financial services, and ensure greater access and control over these key resources by the poor, especially women; and increase the number and racial diversity of women in senior management positions within the Bank." Women's Eyes on the World Bank, Economic Globalization, World Bank, <http://www.wedo.org/global/bank.htm>. In 1996, the World Bank established an External Gender Consultative Group composed of twelve NGO representatives.

76. The campaign is spearheaded by a coalition of women's rights and development organizations. Women Take on the World Trade Organization (WTO2), Economic Globalization, World Bank, <http://www.wedo.org/global/wto.htm>.

77. WEDO, *supra* note 40, at 150.

discriminatory customs and religious practices? Does the current revolution in communication informational technology, itself a by-product of globalization, fuel global feminism in ways never seen before? Overall, might globalization prove to be a phenomenon whose benefits ultimately outweighs its cost? Are women in danger of throwing away the baby with the bath water? These questions are intended only to provoke more rounded research and scholarship on the intersection of gender and international economic law. Focusing exclusively on the evils of international economic regime, to the neglect of any potential benefits, women may run the danger of destroying even those policies, laws, and institutions that have benefited women.

Ultimately, womens' experiences of globalization vary in the sense that not all women are winners or losers in the globalization processes. How to capture the varied and subjective experiences of the world's women thus remains a challenge.⁷⁸ Integrity in research and scholarship calls for more serious analysis of the different positioning of women under globalization. Life stories and anecdotal evidence, coupled with serious statistical and economic studies, will remain important in the coming years. Overall, the account of Leticia, a mother of six in Mexico, best buttresses the urgent need for a gender analysis of the present international economic system. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), it would appear, has not brought about the economic miracle its key proponents had promised. In the words of Leticia:

I can't afford to buy our minimum needs. Last year a pound of red beans was 3.50 pesos; today it is 10 pesos. We used to sow our own beans but now we cannot afford to buy fertilizers and soil. They doubled the price this year. We could only sow a little bit of corn to be able to eat tortillas and salt. My husband and eldest son have had to leave for the north. I hope they send some money to help me out, because I can't even earn enough to get some chilies.⁷⁹

78. Barbara Stark, *Women and Globalization: The Failure and Postmodern Possibilities of International Law*, 33 VAND. J. TRANSNAT'L L. 503, 511 (2000).

79. WEDO, *supra* note 40, at 113.
